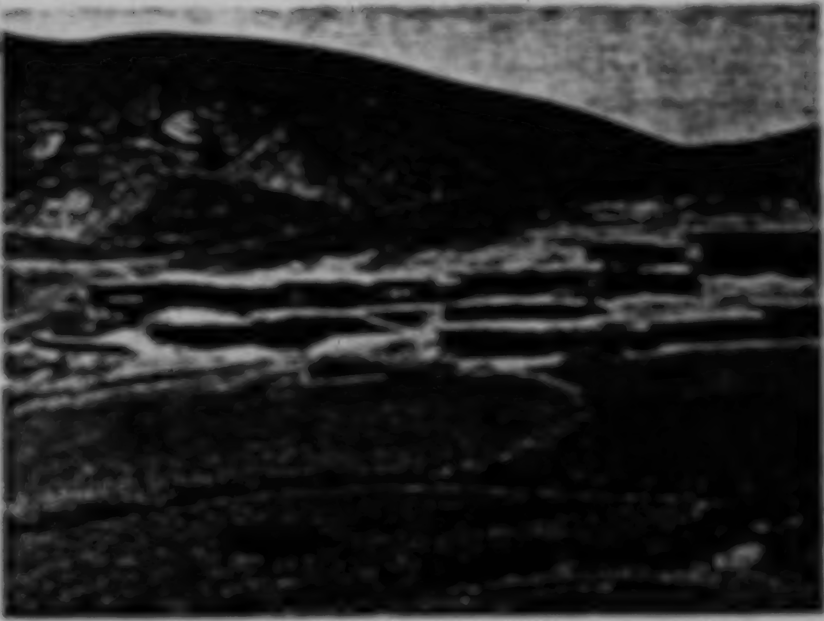

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Fig. [illegible]. Village houses built up the slope. [illegible]

owner of the village leased the ground to the farmers and some would sell, move away or move in without his permission[illegible]. Tenants owned their cattle, their implements and the only part of the house construction that was of value, the big poplar trunks that were used as rafters.

According to information obtained through my interpreter, tenants handed over [illegible]% of the tobacco crop and [illegible]% of all other crops, besides ploughing, harvesting and threshing for the village owner[illegible]. On another occasion the interpreter gave the division as [illegible]% of both wheat and tobacco. However this information must be taken with reserve. Edmonds[illegible] gives [illegible]% of the winter crops—wheat and barley—after fees for guarding, tools and seed. Leach[illegible] states [illegible]% if the owner himself supplies the seeds and possesses agricultural implements, but [illegible]% if the owner of the village has to supply them.

During the British mandate period, [illegible], the Land Settlement Commission was established as "a court of claims relating to questions of land tenure" in connection with a "comprehensive programme" of surveying for the purpose of assessing systematically all cultivated land and finally "settle and register proprietary rights"[illegible]. A representative of this commission held a meeting with farmers in the sheikh's guestroom at [illegible] during my stay there.

249 As contrasted to grain, where most of the work comes either in
312. winter planting or harvesting, the subsidiary crops which require irrigation take constant attention in the growing season. The irrigation system of tiny dikes and channels in a tobacco field is at best a rather temporary one, and must be constantly repaired and reinforced. The flow of water must be started and stopped periodically, and one rarely sees a tobacco field in summer without some farmer with his long handled irrigation shovel, fussing with the watering system.

155 Herding involves much less work, and the supervision of the flocks can easily be delegated. In the hills, the herdsman is supported by dogs. Morning and evening milking is not too time consuming, and even under quite extreme conditions winter fodder is never provided for the animals, so thus very few man-hours are expended.

LAND TENURE.

423 The characteristics of subsistence and available techniques should
● 473 to a considerable extent influence the size and composition of economically cooperating groups and work-gangs, and thereby the form of the households. As is evident, however, the above type of activities lays down few imperatives and requires no cooperative division of labor in the fields. Furthermore, the additional factor of land ownership intervenes, and influences group composition according to other principles.

Any comprehensive discussion of land tenure in the area, however, takes on considerable complexity. Property rights have never been mapped and settled (cadastral mapping and registration is now in progress), and conflicting interpretations and claims are advanced in the various contexts of modern legislation, Ottoman land codes, tribal political organization, or de facto power. For the moment, we may disregard the historical factors leading up to the present situation, and discuss only those factors that influence division of labor and social classes.

As far as the farmer is concerned, the basic contrast is between a/ land owned by himself, or land belonging to the government, but to which he has traditional cultivation rights, and b/ land on which

he himself is considered a tenant farmer — the land belonging to 423
an absentee landowner, a tribal chief, or some privileged section of 471
the local community. The typical situation is for the freeholding farmers to have retained what is generally called tribal organization (see below), whereas the tenant farmer has no clear political affiliation, but is largely subject to the control of the landowner. The dichotomy between the tribal, freeholding farmer and the tenant, more or less dependent on a capitalist for land and other privileges, is basic to much of the following discussion. The dichotomy is clearly made by Kurds themselves, and is associated with the co-variance of other institutional forms.

The characteristic tendency on the land which does not directly belong to the farmer who is using it, is a progressive delegation of rights. This influences the division of labor and the form of work-gangs in the fields, and reinforces class differences.

In the tribal village, each farmer generally works his own fields 465
with own equipment, or may hire some outside labor to assist him at certain times of year. Mutual borrowing, or renting, of livestock may be resorted to. The grazing area belongs to the village as a whole, and [423
herding the animals is generally delegated to one or more full-time 471]
shepherds of low status, who may serve the whole village.

The land of the typical tenant village belongs to an absentee 423
landowner, who collects 1/10–1/5 of the cereal crop by right. The old residents of the village have informal inherited rights of use of certain fields. These are not inalienable. Any person needing more land may apply to the landowner, and if he can demonstrate that he is able to use more, he will be allotted fallow land that formerly belonged to other households. Where no fallow land is available and the need is great, e. g. due to increase in the size of a given family, any type of land may be transferred. Theoretically, the landowner has the right to evict any one for any reason — though this is a power he rarely exercises, since it generally precipitates conflicts and disrupts village unity.

Not infrequently, the more well-to-do tenant farmer will in fact 467
do no farming himself, but will hire labor in his fields for a share 463
of the crop, or other payments. Such payments are traditionally

[illegible]